/71 cont./

adult, has long since been participating in all the collective prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves, which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba fruits (mbokadjá).

Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar /Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that a father will buy for his six or /7?/ seven-year-old son a cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies, and participating in them, but also because these prayers are often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva of Itariri, where, as among the Mbüá, I also saw little children a few years old sing them alone.

The attitude toward education changes visibly with the advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations. Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction, stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéky, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the "guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings, but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1 hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen; but when one of the elementary families has something special in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

/81 cont./

857 apprenticeship: he accompanies his father in hunting, in the
[828] collection of honey, and in other activities, also learning,
under paternal orientation, the technique of plaiting and the
[114] manufacture of the most diverse artifacts. Spontaneously --
[593] and less through the initiative of his parents, contrary to what
[866] Virginia Drew Watson observed among the Kayová of the village of Taquapiri -- the boy makes his own clearing and, not infrequently, sells the produce; with the money he buys some clothing that he needs or some gift for his mother -- a dress to
889 be made up, for example --; nothing for his father. At
866 Francisco Horta it happens that Kayová boys ten years old do
[593] changa outside the village. Starting at twelve years of age
[606] the Guaraní boy in general begins to show his independence, working only part of the time in his father's clearing, until at about fifteen or sixteen he starts living with his father-in-law, on whose tillage he will have to work much more than the latter's
593 sons. -- In any case the affective bonds that bind the boy to his father are much less stable and lasting than those that tie him
/82/ to his mother. Lacking a father, there is little preoccupa-
[604] tion about finding a "legal substitute"; the person more often indicated, however, is the paternal uncle.

Concerning the economic relations, the married son becomes practically a stranger with regard to his father, except in the unusual case of continuing to live with him in the same great-family. At Francisco Horta I once observed how old Paí Tomás left his home to work on the clearing of his married son, who lived some two kilometers away; the old man had taken the work on the clearing as work for a price, for which he would be paid like any other worker. It is an extreme example, which contrasts with the other one, that of Paí Chiquinho at Panambi, whose married son lives with his father and, although he has his own clearing, is part of the same great-family.

/93 cont./
They say that, because of this relaxation, the Guaraní girls of
[illegible]day fail to have the "respectful" attitude of the ancient ones.
[illegible]here is, therefore, some idea of moral "education" bound up
841 with the resguardo.) But at least the majority still take the
882 trouble to repeat the resguardo during the second menses, al-
182 though with less rigor in the restrictions. After this, however,
the acute phase of crisis is considered more or less overcome.
184 Among the Kayová, however, the period of relative isolation is
881 prolonged for months yet, during which the girl keeps her head
882 covered, avoiding contact with persons outside the family, and
so forth.

181 The time of the resguardo represents for the adolescent a
• 868 period of apprenticeship in manual skills, a sort of school of home
881 economics. Although some say that the girls are given training
only "in order to be distracted," others insist that she "does not
stay idle, no," and has to occupy herself: "it is in order to
learn." And, as soon as the days of the monthly period have
elapsed, there is much to learn: to prepare food, to pick over
cotton, to spin, to plait hammocks, to sew, to cut out clothing,
to make akanguá (diadems), djeatsaá, mbarakâ. But /94/ nat-
urally "she could not work at anything heavy." At least among
[603] the Mbüá the teaching is administered by the grandmother,
paternal or maternal.

121 With the abstraction of the specifically educational aspect
175 of the resguardo of the menstruation, it is essentially analogous to
[881] what is demanded of the parents of the newborn baby: measures
[846] imposed in reaction to a state of extraordinary physical and super-
natural diathesis. The similarity is also shown by the comparison
of the myths concerning the two situations narrated by the Ñandéva.

881 Nowadays the Ñandéva men do not use tembetá (labial orna-
178 ment), nor do they pierce the lower lip of the boys. But it is prob-
[301] ble that they have known the practice in former times; otherwise
it would not be understandable that in their mythology they rep-
resent Tupí with a luminous tembetá. Nowadays, however, they

881 /94 cont./
178 pay little attention to the phenomenon of masculine adolescence.
Only in the village of Jacareí have I had information that the boy,
881 when his voice changes, is subjected to the resguardo in order not
825 to be the victim of odjépotá and so that there will not be incarnated
in him certain spirits, particularly of animals such as anta, jaguar,
etc. The spirits of female animals would be incarnated in the
boys, just like those of male animals in the girls. The resguardo
of the boys is practically reduced to not eating the meat of ani-
[868] mals considered dangerous spirits. It is at this age that they learn
the manufacture of adjó (carrying baskets) and sieves, the tasks
in the clearings, the construction of traps, and other things.

881 The Mbüá practice the piercing of the lip, but they do not
304 seem to attach exceptional importance to it, at least in general.
[184] In the group now established in the village of Rio Branco, a doctor-
[178] sorcerer, some decades ago, decided without much ado to abolish
the practice; he is supposed to have explained his attitude by say-
ing that "today one can no longer live as in ancient times."

[301] The orifice is minimal, almost invisible, and in it is worn
[824] (but not always) a fine toothpick of taquara. The piercing is not
necessarily done by the fiandeirú. Any man of the village can
perform it, using a splinter of pindo leaf-rib. It is preferred,
however, that all the boys of prepuberal age (about ten years old)
existing in the group submit to the operation simultaneously. Any
person, including those of the female sex, may be present on the
[752] occasion. The patients are not considered in a state of odjékoaku,
[278] and the wound is only treated with peanut /Port. coré/ oil (ytxótxim).
/95/ An essential condition is that the boy must have previously
[115] passed through a period of apprenticeship under the orientation of
[868] his father or some person entrusted with it, during which he has
been instructed in the techniques of plaiting and other skills --
so that he does not become lazy, according to the explanation of
881 Pablo Vera of Troyaí. In Rio Branco the Indian Karaí or Marcelino
867 Rosa explained to me that the ones being initiated receive a series
507 of recommendations or counsels (which he called "education").
[115] They are more or less the following: "work a lot, plant well, do

/124 cont./

782 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be
869 passed on by instruction. A ñanderú is created both by inspira-
756 tion and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Dourados Vicente Jerônimo (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Marçal. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the oká (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 At least among the Kayová and Ñandéva the acquisition
785 of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence
[184] in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the ñanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same
[869] holds for women who wish to become curers (ñandesy, "our
[868] mother"): they start to learn /125/ from the time they are children and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Old Fernando told me: ñanderú does not readily
756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He
159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great
[582] master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become ñanderú.

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having
[783] been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

/36 cont./

553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock, singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing [828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless, like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain [551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá [177] names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These [178] might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 Education: During the first years of life the child is ordinarily
867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult. It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child
• 868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number
593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example,
462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods, planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home, as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant association, the moments when they are separated being rare. [736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or [603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reach- [423] ing the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property. The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.

/40 cont./

775 The deceased person becomes agwery, being able to wander freely on earth without being seen by living human beings. The agwerys can often be dangerous, frequently being tempted to re-
[764] turn to the family and do some harm. In case only the wife and some small children remain, the house is then burned, the occupants going to live in another place.

/41/ Reciprocal Behavior

593 Parents and children: The relations between parents and children are the most important ones in Cayuá society. The parents
•868 must care for the children and educate them, which generally
462 takes place according to a sexual division. The responsibility for the education of the daughter falls to the mother, and although she also takes care of the son while he is very small, she does not need to concern herself much about his education. She teaches the daughter the tasks of the domestic economy, what must be done in the clearing, etc. For his part the father teaches the son how to take care of the clearing, how to build houses, hunt, fish, make bows, etc.

593 The behavior of the children in relation to the parents is quite well defined, and although they may manifest a certain degree of affection, particularly while they are small, they are not allowed to become very familiar with the parents, having to respect them and obey them on all occasions.

The relations between parents and children, such as those we have just defined, are observed above all in the elementary
[602] family. Nevertheless, they are also extended to the classificatory relatives, parents and children, but the obligations differ as to rigor.

"Siblings" and "Siblings": This relationship is also important in Cayuá life. The "siblings" of the same sex are connected by very close and intimate ties. The sisters play and work together constantly, helping each other as much as possible. The older sister takes care of the younger one while the latter is small. The same thing is observed between brothers.

/42 cont./
603 grandparents frequently help with the instruction of the grandchildren, but what they teach are things of a practical or tech-
603 nical order rather than of a disciplinary nature. There are cases
736 in which the grandparents are entirely responsible for the care and the education required by the grandchildren (this happens when the children's parents are dead or divorced); the author regrets not knowing up to what point this relationship between grandparents and grandchild differs from the normal ones.

604 Brother of the mother and sons and daughters of the sister: In general, one can say that the son or daughter respects the mother's brother, although at the same time there is a certain familiarity with respect to him, besides the privilege of asking him for help in case of need. The mother's brother may joke with the nephew and the niece, and these in turn, especially the nephew, may joke with him, but they must never fail to show
[736] the respect that is due him. The death of the father of the family taking place, it is probable that the latter will go to live with
[868] the mother's brother. In this case it falls to him to educate and instruct the male children of the sister; as a substitute for the true father, he gives them, for example, parcels of land on which they will have to make their first clearings.
[602] /43/ This relationship is extended to the sons and daughters of the more distant sisters, but it is not manifested so intensely in relation to them as toward the sons and daughters of the man's own sister.

Brother of the father and sons and daughters of the brother: The relationship that connects the sons and daughters to the father's sister greatly resembles in several senses the one that exists between them and the mother's brother. There is a certain degree of liberty between the sister of a man and his sons and daughters, and from this her helping them in case of need. The sons and daughters must always maintain an attitude of respect toward the father's sister.